

# Arabo-Berber influences in Malta: onomastic evidence

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Les influences arabo-berbères à Malte: données onomastiques — C'est non seulement sur la langue elle-même (le maltais); mais aussi sur la nomenclature de l'île que s'est exercée le plus profondément l'influence arabo-berbère.

L'auteur de cette communication fort documentée présente quelques résultats d'une étude en cours. La documentation qu'il a rassemblée à ce jour (300 patronymes, 200 surnoms et 3200 toponymes de Malte et de Gozo) remonte, dans sa majeure partie, à une période antérieure à 1530, c'est-à-dire avant que certains de ces noms n'aient subi des transformations sous l'effet, entre autres, de l'italianisation. Une étude comparative permet alors d'identifier des noms actuellement en usage comme étant arabes ou berbères, alors même qu'on serait tenté de leur attribuer une origine européenne relativement récente. Cette étude permet aussi d'établir que les toponymes se réfèrent généralement au nom que portait l'occupant du lieu (nom de famille, surnom, appellation tribale). Enfin, les données fournies par cette recherche semblent indiquer qu'il y aurait eu un peuplement arabo-berbère important pendant l'occupation de l'archipel.

The expulsion of the Muslims in the 13th century,<sup>1</sup> and that of the Jews in the 15th,<sup>2</sup> brought about the final rupturing of the powerful cultural ties which had bound Malta to the North African Arabo-Berber world ever since 870 A.D. Since then — except for the largely unacknowledged contact, mainly among the lower classes, by emigration, trade or slavery — the dominant cultural driving force in Malta has come from Sicily, Italy, South Europe in general and, latterly, from the whole English-speaking world. In fact, few nowadays are even remotely aware of Malta's Arabo-Berber past still lurking in some of the less obvious parts of the island's cultural heritage. Though the Arabic origin of the Maltese language has now come to be generally accepted by the public at large, some are still attached to the theory of a Phoenician origin, fearing that an admission of Arabic links might endanger the social and political acceptance of Maltese emigrants in countries like Australia.<sup>3</sup> The general Arabic origin of most Maltese medieval placenames is also nowadays commonly admitted, but family pride still interferes with the acceptance of a similar origin for most of Malta's medieval surnames. Cultural snobbery has also resulted in a serious neglect of the real significance of Maltese nicknames.

One serious drawback to the study of Malta's nomenclature has been the lack of documentation older than G. F. Abela's first extensive treatment of the subject.<sup>4</sup> However, that difficulty is now a fair way to being solved, at least from 1400 onwards. The militia and other population lists of the 15th century provide an abundance of data on personal and family nomenclature which can be supplemented by much extra information from the surviving archival documentation from that and the following centuries.<sup>5</sup> The notarial records themselves are the main and almost inexhaustible source of information on placenames and nicknames. In this way, so far, over 300 surnames, some 200 nicknames, and over

3200 placenames in Malta and Gozo have been collected and partially collated with a view to publication in all their spelling variations and with their exact date, location, and documentation. Practically all examples are earlier than 1545. In fact, all the surnames, most of the nicknames, and almost half the placenames are older than 1530. Some gaps still remain, due mainly to the nature of the notarial records. Thus the area around Mellieħa is not properly documented before 1628, Gozo not before 1565, and certain features such as coastal placenames and cliffs are under-represented.

Some striking facts are immediately revealed. Surnames like Bonavia, Vassallo, Pace, Vella, Schembri and Mangion, which one might be excused for thinking to have been relatively late imports from Sicily and other South European countries, are shown to have been in Malta at least ever since the early 15th century — that is, from an age only 150 years later than that of the expulsion of the Moslems. Placenames like *Wied Qirda* are shown to have been far older than the historical event — in this case, the Maltese rising against the French in 1798 — to which their origin has usually been attributed.<sup>6</sup> *Gebel Ġħizara* existed in some form or other 150 years before the Great Siege (1565) and had nothing to do with the shouts of joy the Christian soldiers uttered in their last battle with the departing Turks.<sup>7</sup> *Braxia*, the name of the site of the modern Protestant cemetery at Pietà, is most definitely not “Very likely an English family name”, but a mis-spelling of *Braqxija* (or *de la brakxyie*, etc.).<sup>8</sup> And *Baldokk* is certainly not related to the English word *bulldog*, seeing that it is recorded as early as 1514. It is much more likely to be related to the Medieval Christian name and surname *Balduchius*.<sup>9</sup> The rather strange Gozitan placename *Fomm il-Gir*, mouth or outlet of lime, does not appear. Instead we have *Forn il-Gir*, lime-kiln, which makes much better sense.<sup>10</sup> Another Gozitan placename, nowadays given as *Mewġ il-Baħar*, sea-waves, or *Nagħaġ il-Baħar*, sheep of the sea, appears instead more prosaically as *Megil Baħar*, either Baħar’s cistern, or the cistern by the sea.<sup>11</sup> And so on. Predictably, the more attention is restricted to the oldest surviving examples the easier and more natural do the explanations become; and the closer and clearer also becomes the connection to the nomenclature and culture of North Africa.

Scores of these old placenames contain obvious references to persons associated in some way or other (usually ownership or tenancy) with the localities themselves, e.g. *Bir Buħaġar*, *Bir Abdilla*, *Gnien Mifsud*, *Gnien Sillatu*, *Rqajja’ tal-Kuxkieri*, *Xagħret Żarb*.<sup>12</sup> The second component word of each is still used nowadays as a surname and would be immediately recognised as such by anyone familiar with Malta and the Maltese. Scores of other placenames contain medieval surnames which do not survive any longer: *Habel Barro*, *Tal-Berqax*, *Għalqa tal-Qadus*, *Għajn Qatet*.<sup>13</sup> Others contain late medieval Maltese nicknames: *Mwieġel tal-Għafriid*, *Ta’ Ħmajra*, *Tal-Imżewwaq* (at Bubaqra), *Tal-Qinč* (near Wardija, St. Paul’s Bay), *Wied Gerżuma*.<sup>14</sup> The examples given are only a few selected from hundreds, especially if probabilities are included.

It has long been recognised by everyone that the placenames of Malta and Gozo contain several references to Arab personal names. But from this older and much more ample documentation several similar references to Arab names could be added: *Dar iż-Żara’*, *Dejr-Bakr*, *Djar Maħluf*, *Bir Jahlef*, *Wied Għomor*, *Bubaqra* (Abu Bakr), *Ta’ Mawwija*, *Għabdirruzaq*, *Għabid Nur*, *Ta’ Selim*, *Ta’ Salāma*, *Bir Għattar*, *Ta’ Mrabat*, *Ta’ Kemil*, *Ta’ Muħammad*, *Ta’ Xaben*, *Budaqq*, etc.<sup>15</sup> Turning

to surnames, it is obvious that several of the oldest ones are themselves of Arabo-Berber origin. Here too one could now easily add others: *Abdilla*, *Axisa*, *Bajjada*, *Buġibba*, *Buras*, *Busalib*, *Buturra*, *Cadus*, *Cahalun*, *Chetcuti*, *Dejf*, *Duhamuri*, *Far*, *Mahnuq*, *Muhtara*, *Muhammed*, *Mula*, *Nuar* (i.e. Anwar), *Sigir* (i.e. Zgħir), *Xara*, *Xehbun*, *Xeluki*, *Zabbar*, *Zejne*, *Zrejra*, *Zurki*.<sup>16</sup> This is a conservative list from which doubtful or debatable examples have been omitted. Most of them, taken from 15th century documents, have long since died out.

In this way it can now be shown that until the end of the 15th century Arabo-Berber influence in Malta was far stronger than most people realized or Abela and Agius de Soldanis have led us to believe.<sup>17</sup> The point is further proved by the fact that practically all of the Semitic surnames, nicknames, and the non-topographical parts of placenames also appear in Arabic personal, family, and tribal names and nicknames — a fact largely overlooked up to now owing to the perverse predilection for explaining meanings by a direct reference to Maltese or Arabic dictionaries. The fact that *Buhagiar* and *Butigieg* are already found in use among Arab or Arabized peoples in those same or closely related forms is in itself a fact of far greater historical significance than any particular meaning *Abu* + *Haġar* or *Abu* + *Daġaġ* might originally have had. Taken in conjunction with the innumerable other Arab *ism* names and the *kunya*, *laqab*, *nasab* and *nisbah* names which are, or were once, to be found in Maltese surnames and placenames, they go far to prove the complete and direct continuity of Maltese present-day and medieval nomenclature with that in use during Muslim times.

It is mainly when comparisons are made between the Maltese surnames and placenames in their early forms and spellings that the real Semitic or Berber origins of both became amply evident. The village name of *H'Attard* is sometimes, if rarely, written *Raħal Tard*. *Ta' Trida* is also the name of another locality. Between them they suggest the Arabic or Berber name *Trudi*, *Turdi*, *Trud* (a tribal name in Tunisia), and *Terad bin El Ouerd* mentioned by Ibn Khaldun in his *History of the Berbers*.<sup>18</sup> The surname of *Cap* or *Capo* is sometimes replaced in the placenames by *Tal Cubi*, *Talcubbe*, *Thal Cobbe*, and *Ta Cubbj*.<sup>19</sup> *Capo* alone would suggest an Italian translation of some surname like *Buras*, which also existed in Malta. Instead it now seems likely that it derives directly from a Semitic root, cf.

أبو الكُفْب, *Abu l-Ka'b*, or conceivably from *qubba*, dome, a word still in use in Malta in the second half of the 15th century. The surname *Buturra* itself would indicate an Arabo-Berber origin for the placename *Ta' Turra* and also for the 15th century surname *de lu Turri*.<sup>20</sup> Though the surname *de lu Turri* is also found in medieval Sicily, one must remember that Sicily's own cultural history largely parallels that of Malta. There is even a placename *Buturro* south of Salemi in Western Sicily. Certainly, of course, care must be taken to distinguish from any of these the Maltese placename *Torri* and the Sicilian *Torre*, both of which are undoubtedly of Latin origin. There is then the surname *Gigante* in 15th century Malta. It could easily have belonged to immigrants from Sicily or Italy. Among the placenames it seems to be represented usually by *Tal-Ġabbar*, the giant's. That *Gigante* could very well have been a simple notarial rendering of an original *Gabbar* is shown by the existence of names like Mohammed *Gigant*, Abdallah *Gigant*, among the 15th century Mozarabs of Spain.<sup>21</sup>

It is intriguing how so many Maltese early surnames of Arabic origin with Islamic overtones, like *Mihammed* and *Dejf*, should have died out so abruptly and

completely during the 15th century. There has never been any doubt, however, that cultural rather than biological failure was the cause. Even in the 14th century one already finds *Gnien is-Sultan* translated into *lu Jardinu di lu Re*, instead of the correct rendering *Gnien Sultan*, Sultan's garden. It later reappears in its Maltese form and survives as such to the present day, testifying to the intrinsic strength of the underlying Semitic tradition. The surname *Sultana* itself has not yet been dis-correct rendering *Gnien Sultan*, Sultan's garden. It later reappears in its Maltese by *Dello Re*.<sup>22</sup> The word *Mdina*, now used as the name of Malta's medieval capital, was invariably translated in the 15th century into the Latin *Civitas Melitae* or the Sicilian *Chitati*, and its persistence in everyday speech has to be inferred from its presence in associated placenames like *Wied l-Imdina* and *Habel l-Imdina*.<sup>23</sup> The minor placename *Haġra s-Sewda* and *Haġra t-Twila* were practically always rendered *Petra Negra* and *Petra Longa*,<sup>24</sup> and it might also be that *Ta' Luna* is a translation of *Il-Qamar* or *Tal-Qamar*, but is more likely to indicate property belonging to the prominent Sicilian family *Della Luna*.<sup>25</sup> These translations are, however, practically the only ones that have been found in the whole list of 3200 Maltese and Gozitan placenames. On the whole their Maltese form is invariably preferred.

It should not be taken that, in their translations of surnames and placenames, the scribes and notaries of the 15th century showed any greater knowledge of the niceties of the Arabic language than is shown by their 20th century successors. Their ignorance appears, for example, in their translations of the surname *Dejff* or *Deyf* by *Magro* and *Magri*, as is amply documented in the notarial registers of the early 16th century. Confusing the original ضَيْف with ضَعِيف, they thought it meant "weak, lean" instead of "guest", cf. *Deyf Allah*, guest of God. The surname *De Spatio*, which seems occasionally to appear in the notarial deeds of the 14th and early 15th centuries would be a mis-translation of *Xara*, the result of confusion with the word *Xaġhra*. Another translation which often took place in the early 16th century was that of *Psayla* into *Cipolla*. The latter never really managed, however, to supplant the former and eventually the attempt failed. Nor did *De Spatio* catch on, as *Xara* took an unconscionable form in dying out — probably during the 17th century.<sup>26</sup>

In coming, therefore, to a proper understanding of the strength of Arabo-Berber influence on Malta one has to be continually on one's guard against this age-old tendency of suppression, replacement, and translation or mis-translation, of whatever was Arabic, Berber or Muslim by Sicilian, Italian, and, nowadays, English names and customs. Thus the existence in Malta of the surname *Vetero* in Latin documents of the 15th century and of the surname *de lu Vechu* in Sicilian ones should not be taken at its face value — that Sicilian or Italian families bearing those names were settling on the island. Though *Ilcabel de la Vecza* (Il-Habel tal-Vecca) has been found as the name of a place at *Il-Qlejġha* in 1539, and *Tal-Vecca* is nowadays a very well known picturesque locality at St. Paul's Bay, one must remember not only the existence of *Habel ix-Xiħ* at Torri ta' Għassiewi, at Żurrieq, and at Ħal Biżbud, but that there were fields called *Ta' Xiħa* both in Malta and Gozo, and another called *Ta' Mart ix-Xiħ* at Il-Handaq, *Għar ix-Xiħ* at Tabrija and at *Ta' Xewxa*. *Tax-Xiħ* itself was also to be found at Żurrieq, Ħal Farruġ, Santa Venera, and Għadir il-Bordi in Malta, and at Megil Baħar in Gozo.<sup>27</sup> As if to confirm that the *Vetero* and *De lu Vechu* were not only identical with one another but really mere translations of a pre-existing *Xiħ* or *Tax-Xiħ*, one should note first

that in 1419 one of the seven *Vechu* in Malta lived at Tarxien, within a mile or two of Tal-Handaq and Hal Farrug, and two others lived at Mqabba, within a few hundred yards of It-Torri ta' Ghassiewi.

I have dealt with this case at length for many reasons. For one thing it now appears that Peter Caxaro's mother's maiden name was Vetero. For another, it is well known that the Arabic شيخ was not just any old man, but something of a local chieftain, a man of respectability in the community. The presence, indeed ubiquity, of the word in Maltese placenames and its appearance among the surnames — even if in translation — testifies to the strength of the same social institution in the Maltese islands. One also remembers here the Maltese 15th century surname *Mohtar*, village headman. One other Arabo-Muslim institution is that of the *Xerif*. Nothing is known of Malta's *xerifs* from the extant literature, but that Maltese society was aware of their existence is proved by the presence of the word in the placenames. Fields called *Ta' Xerif* or *Tax-Xierif*, where assimilation has taken place to a common Maltese word meaning "tough", were to be found at Hal Safi, at Wied is-Sewda, and at Il-Barrani. At Wied ir-Rum there was a garden of the same name. Both Naxxar and Mrieħel had localities called *Gnien Xerif* or *Gnien ix-Xerif*. At Hal Bajda there was a field called *Habel Xerif*.<sup>28</sup> The Muslim administration of justice in Malta is represented by the name of the large district of *Tal-Qadi* near Bin Werrad and by the placename *Hal Qadi* near Birzebbuga.<sup>29</sup> There was a *Harit l-Imwieli* at Mdina recalling the *mawali*, or new Muslims of non-Arab extraction, and there was an unlocated field called *Il-Ġizja*, which was the name of the poll-tax imposed on free non-Muslims in Christian times.<sup>30</sup> The placename *Tal-Għazi* near Ghajn Rihana and L-Imġieħed at Bin Ghisa and Wied il-Kbir recall the fighting spirit of Islam (cf. the *مجاهد*, *mujahid*).<sup>31</sup> *Wied Weli*, situated near the Cottonera Lines, refers to a *wali* or provincial governor, while *Għajn Qajjied* and *Sqaq Qajjied* refer to a military commander,<sup>32</sup> reminding one of the "Gaytus qui urbi et insulae principabatur", with whom Count Roger dealt when he invaded the island in 1091 A.D.<sup>33</sup> The placenames *L-Imġieles*, *Bir l-Imġieles*, and *Hirib tal-Imġieles* also deserve further study.<sup>34</sup> There are then several places both in Malta and in Gozo which are called *It-Torba*, a place of burial. Some of the *torba* placenames even seem to preserve the name of the person buried there (though they could be merely referring to a former proprietor of the site). *Torbot Garfagna* (cf. surname Gravagna), *Torba ta' Hawtiel* (?), *Torba ta' Klula*, and *Torbi il-Hakim*.<sup>35</sup> There is some evidence that Christians preferred to bury their dead in churches or cemeteries called *zuntier*. If that is so, then we would be justified in saying that the *torba* placenames refer to Muslim burials.

Before concluding, reference must be made to two books on North African family and tribal names because of the light they throw on Maltese nomenclature. The first, by Maurice Eisenbeth, is concerned with the family names of North African Jews.<sup>36</sup> It should be understood that ever since the Middle Ages the Jews of the Maghreb have always had a predominance of Arabo-Berber family names, the same as the medieval Jews of Malta (e.g. the Maltese Jewish family *Nifusi*). Eisenbeth's book reveals that the following Maltese medieval surnames (many of them surviving to the present day) were also current among the Jews of North Africa: Axisa (i.e. the Jewish Achache, Hachache), Bellia, Bigeni (cf. Boudjina), Busuttil, Buni, Capo (cf. Cobbi, Cobe, etc., above), Fenech, German, Cagege (Hadjadj), Hakim, Ayona



or Dayona, Maxita, Mamu, Said, Sghendo, Zebi, Sultana, Tabona, Zahra, Buscone, Zerafa.

Similarities to the Maltese placenames are also apparent in several instances (Maltese placenames in brackets): Alban, Attar (Bir Għattar), Albaz (i.e. il-Bies), Alcheikh (ix-Xiħ), Alhoul (Tal-Ħawlija, fem.), Arejl (Ta' Riġla), Arbi, Aroua (Bieb Erruwa), Assal, Baba (Wied Babu, tal-Papa), Banan (Bir Binan or Bonanno), Baranes (Ta' Beronisi), Behar (Baħrija, Ta' Buħir), Belahhom (cf. nickname Ta' Belahhom at Mellieħa), Benkandil (Għalqet Gandli), Benoudiz (Wied id-Dis, Gudjet id-Dis), Betti, Boumendil (Ta' Mendil), Cherqui (Cirkewwa), Dardour (Ta' Darduri), Douieb (Bir id-Dwieb), Farhi (Migra l-Ferħa, Tal-Ferħa), Faroudj (Ħal Farruġ), Fessi (Tal-Fas), Ghanem, Hassan, Ellouz, Kharrat (Ħal Harrat), Kemmun, Krikeb (Kirkop, Kirceppu), Lellouche (Ta' Lelluxa, Hbula ta' Lelluxa), Lok, Ellok, Marzouk, Melloul, Messalati, Nadjar, Nedjma, Nourry, Raccah, Rihan, Rouha, Sabbah, Safar (perhaps *Misraħ Suffara* and nickname *Ta' Suffara*), Salama, Scali (cf. Marsascala), Temam, Touil, Zaitoun, Zekri, Ziri. It will be immediately recognized, for example, that Ziri is a typical Berber name well known in Tunisian history, which appears in Maltese placenames as *Ta' Żiri*, *Wied Żiri* (Musta) and *Għar Żira*.<sup>37</sup>

The list of Berber tribes published more than seventy years ago<sup>38</sup> not only contains several of the names already indicated above but innumerable others, especially if one ignored slight changes of form (e.g. *Frafra* for *Farfar*). Maltese surnames appearing unchanged or almost unchanged in this work include Bugeia (Oulad bou Iaia), Bonavia (Oulad Ben Aouia), Vassallo (Beni Ouacel, Menzel Ouassel, cf. the Algerian Oued Nahar Ouassel), Mizzi (Beni Mezza), Sghendo (Oulad Bou Sq'uenda), Grima (El Krima). The list of placenames in Malta similar or very close to the tribal names of Tunisia is far too long to be given here (about 130 in all). However, one may give some indication of the kind of insight it provides into the nature and significance of maltese placenames by considering the case of *Il-Minsija*, the name of a locality not far from the present site of the University of Malta. Most Maltese would explain it dictionary-wise as "the forgotten one". In fact, in Tunisia *El Mensia* was a "fraction" of the cheikh of the Oulad Slama belonging to the Caidat of Medjez el Bab. In the usual way, *El Mensia* would owe its origin to a real or imagined progenitor called *Manes*. In fact, there is in Tunisia itself another "fraction" called *Oulad Maness*, which would be another way of expressing approximately the same relationship. These facts suggest a roughly similar origin for Malta's *Minsija* (frequently, indeed, spelled *Mensija*). No direct connection with the present Tunisian tribe of that name is at all probable, but a parallel development indicating kinship is possible.

The case of the Maltese surname *Schembri* should also be mentioned, if only to show the nature of these complicated but potentially invaluable comparisons. It belongs to Malta's original stock of surnames. Among the placenames it seems to be present in *Bjar Ximbir*, *Ħal Ximbir* and *Qortin Ximbir*. Then there is the locality called *Ta' Ċampra* (variously written). Finally, one of the negro slaves of Malta in the early 17th century was called Zeina bint *Schamber*.<sup>39</sup> The tribal list itself gives *Ech Chenabra* as a "sous-fraction" of the El Mrassen. This suggests that for the "ultimate" origin of *Schembri* we have to look southwards rather than northwards, in spite of the presence of the same surname in Sicily.

There is no doubt that Berber names could be identified among Malta's place-names and surnames. *Il-Marnisi* is an undoubted Berber name, identical with that of one of the main tribal divisions of the Berbers during the Middle Ages. The Berber *Beranes* are represented by *Ta' Beronisi* as well as by *Il-Beranes* and *Tal-Biranes*. Unfortunately, of course, both Berber name and Maltese placename could be merely the plural of *burnus*. One could, however, hazard the suggestion that the name of the eponymous ancestor of the Beranes — *Bernes* himself — may be represented in Malta and no doubt in Sicily too by the surname *Parnis*, which was already in existence in 1419. On the other hand, *Parnasa*, the name of a field at Ghajn Rihana, may have originated instead in the title of the Jewish official called *parnas*.<sup>40</sup> The surname *Chumi* and the placename *Bir Guma* may both have some connection with the name of the *Kumiya* tribe.<sup>41</sup> And other Berber tribal names could also certainly be identified.

Working the other way round, one finds the placename and personal name of *Sidi Kaouki* on the Moroccan coast unmistakably suggesting the Maltese surname *Cauchi*, the small hamlet of *Guerando* in the Doukkala province of Morocco suggesting the Maltese placename *Qrendi* and the Gozitan fieldname *Ta' Kerrandu*,<sup>42</sup> and the Algerian town of *Frenda* suggesting the Maltese surname *Frendo*. Compare also the Maltese surname Camilleri, locally supposed to originate from the name of Hal Milleri, to the East Algerian hill called *Djebel Kamellel*.

All in all, the Medieval nomenclature of Malta is so cluttered up with Arabo-Berber names that one is left wondering at the fate of the previous inhabitants. Did they not survive at all? How could they have been assimilated so completely that they have left practically no visible sign of themselves in the placenames? Even if they spoke some form of Phoenician they should by 870 have adopted innumerable Latin and Greek names. Why is it that, except for a possible *Pancratius* Brincat (which could just as much have taken place after the Norman conquest as before) they have left precious little sign of themselves in the Maltese nomenclature — and this when the Berbers, themselves subject to their Arab conquerors, were able to leave their own mark on it?

## Notes

1. Ibn Khaldun cited in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, versione italiana, 1881, p. 213.
2. For the Jews in Malta see: Mons. A. Mifsud, "Tracce dell'Antica Vitalità Giudaica Maltese", *Archivum Melitense*, IV; C. Roth, *The Jews of Malta*, Jewish Historical Society, London, 1928.
3. Pietru Demicoli, "Malta, its Languages and its People", *Malta News*, 10 and 11 March 1969; V. Deguara's letter to the editor, *Times of Malta*, 18 October 1971.
4. G. F. Abela, *Della Descrittione di Malta, Isola del Mare Siciliano e Adriatico con le sue Antichità ed altre notizie*, Malta, 1647.
5. The present writer has published: "The Militia List of 1419–1420: a New Starting Point for the Study of Malta's Population", *Melita Historica*, vol. V, no. 2 (1969); "The Distribution of Surnames in Malta in 1419 and the 1480s", *Journal of Maltese Studies*, no. 5 (1968); and "Late Medieval Maltese Nicknames", *Ibid.*, no. 6 (1971).
6. *gued kjrde*, contrata: 4. iii. 1509, Notary B. Sillato, Notarial Archives, Valletta (NAV), MS 1069, fol. 168<sup>v</sup>. See Dun Karm's sonnet "Wied Qirda" in Guzè Bonnici, *Il-Ghana ta' Dun Karm*, "Gabra ta' Poezija", I, 156.
7. G. F. Abela, op. cit., pp. 71–72.

8. *de la brakyxie*, contrata: 1 vii 1499, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/2; *tal bireikixie*, contrata: 30 viii 1504, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/2, fol. 77; *brekixie*, contrata: 6 iii 1523, Not. Graciano Vassallo, NAV, R 464/3, fol. 313<sup>v</sup>; *birakixie*, contrata: 10 iv 1529, Not. Gr. Vassallo, NAV, R 464/4, fol. 198.
9. *tal balduch*, clausura infra casali Xiloc et Sigeui: 7 x 1514, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/6, fol. 56<sup>v</sup>; "tenimento Meliveti prope terras *Balducii* de Auico", 11 xi 1372, Royal Malta Library (RML), Valletta, MS Università 206, fol. 300. For Dingli, Braxia, and Baldok see P. P. Saydon, "Die Ortsnamen der Maltesischen Inseln", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, Nuova Serie, XVII, pp. 197, 195 and 190.
10. *forn il gir*, clausura terrae maceris circumdata cum domo et mandris in contrata Sancta Agatha (Gozo): 8 viii 1567, Not. Thomeo Gauci, NAV, R 287/4, fol. 203 of 1st pt.
11. *meg in Ilbachar*, peczu de terreno in contrata Marsalfurni (Gozo): 7 i 1544, Not. L. de Apapis, NAV, R 203, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>; *megel bachar*, contrata (Gozo): 26 x 1559, Not. Thommeo Gauci, NAV, MS 867/9, fol. 36; *meg Il bahar* sive Marsa Ilfurni, contrata in territoriis insulae Gaudisii: 25 viii 1585, Not. J. D. Formosa, NAV, R 271/1, fol. 454<sup>v</sup>; *meg Ill bacharien* (sic), contrata (Gozo): 4 xi 1577, Not. Ferdinando Ciappara, NAV, R 185/4, fol. 196.
12. *ta bir buchagiar*, contrata: 15 vi 1538, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/3, fol. 67<sup>v</sup>; *birhabidalla*, contrata: 11 ii 1494, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *ginen mifisud*, territorium: 21 viii 1534, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/1, fol. 35; *Ilginen ta Sillato*, clausura in contrata Ilcanzire: 28 ix 1541, Not. Gerolamo Cumbo, NAV, R 196/3, fol. 10<sup>v</sup> of 4th pt; *ricaja tal cuskeri*, clausura in contrata *Bita Cuxkeri*: 23 iv 1530, Not. Gr. Vassallo, NAV, R 464/5, fol. 231<sup>v</sup> (notice "bita" for the Modern Malta possessive "ta"); *xaharet zarb*, spatio: 23 xii 1654, RML, Treasury A 154 (unpaginated).
13. *habel ilbarro*, lencia de terra in contrata casalis Tabuni: 19 ii 1550, Not. Gius. de Guevara, NAV, MS 778/1; *chabel barru*, clausura in contrata Tal Chadire: 13 i 1563, Cathedral Museum, Mdina, Malta (CMMM), Archiepiscopal Archives, Curia Episcopalis Melitae, Acta Originalia (AAM/CEM/AO), vol. "1567", no. 7, fol. 5; *hayn catet*, contrata (Gozo): 1 ii 1565, Not. Thommeo Gauci, NAV, R 287/3, fol. 206<sup>v</sup> of 2nd pt; *ta bercax*, terrae near Mgarr, Malta: 11 vi 1493, Not. B. Sillato, NAV, MS 1096; *galca tal cadus*, clausura: 17 i 1537, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/4, fol. 135. For the surnames Barro and Qadus (Cadus) see G. Wettinger, "The Distribution of Surnames in Malta in . . .", for Berqax: Petrus Bercax, 4 ix 1467, Not. P. Bonello, NAV, MS 588, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>; for Qatet: Ferrandus *Cattut*, 27 ix 1564, Not. L. de Apapis, NAV, R, 203, fol. 115.
14. *tel muelgel tal hafrid*, contrata: 26 iv 1543, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/11, fol. 476<sup>v</sup>; *ta chumajra*, clausura: 7 x 1530, Not. Gr. Vassallo, NAV, R 464/6, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>; *ta humayra*, clausura in contrata *Ta Liscof*: 8 v 1543, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/11, fol. 498; *tal mizeuhac*, vinea vitibus et arboribus plantata in contrata casalis Bubacra: 17 viii 1542, Not. Gius. de Guevara, NAV, R 224/11, fol. 358; *Il Ginen tahal Chinci*, clausura in contrata Ta Safsaf: 29 iv 1606, Not. Lorenzo Grima, NAV, R 309/10, fol. 460; *Guedguersumi*, certi specii eciam publici e di grandi tenimentu: 1458 Capitolo in RML, Univ. 10; Sebastianus Luca *Gkersume* (nickname) de Rabbato: 10 ix 1538, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/3, fol. 171<sup>v</sup>; for other nicknames: G. Wettinger, "Late Medieval Malta Nicknames" (see note).
15. *dar iczara*, contrata: 6 xii 1454, CMMM/AAM/CEM/AO, vol. "1500–1510" (copy of 1 ix 1502); *deyr bacar*, territorium: 30 i 1487, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *diar machiluf*, lencia terrae: Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/1, fol. 303<sup>v</sup>; *bir hyahelef*, contrata: *ibid.*, R 494/2, fol. 19 of 2nd quire; *gued humur*, contrata: 20 i 1538, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/5, fol. 185<sup>v</sup>; *bubakira*, casali: 1419–1420 Militia List; *tamauye*, tenimentum terrarum insolae Gaudisii in contrata Garbi: 12 iv 1497, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/2, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>; *habdruzac*, territorium: 5 ix 1487, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *abd Irruzec*, territorium in contrata Ta Chabel Il Girob: 26 ii 1539, Not.



Juliano Muscat, NAV, R 376/1, fol. 209<sup>v</sup>; *ta habid nur*, lencia terrae (in contrata casalis Xiloc): 12 i 1532 and 19 ii 1534, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/1, fols. 20<sup>v</sup>, 379<sup>v</sup>; *ta selim*, clausura in contrata Tal Baccari: 23 ix 1505, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R. 140/2, fol. 157<sup>v</sup>; *ta Selim*, clausura in contrata casalis Cadiri vel casalis Timin: 23 i 1518, *ibid.*, R 140/7, fol. 154<sup>v</sup>; *ta sileme*, duae galcuiae in contrata casalis Percop: 1 ii 1529, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/12, fol. 51<sup>v</sup>; *bitabirhatar*, (contrata, Jus patronatus): 29 viii 1520, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *ta mirabat*, clausura in contrata Czeddemet: 25 viii 1520, Not. B. de Sillato, NAV, MS 1069, fol. 128; *ta kemil*, clausura in contrata casalis Axac: 19 iii 1501, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/1, fol. 91; *ta michammed*, clausura in contrata Ilchandac: 26 ix 1500, *Idem*, fol. 52; *bita xaben*, clausura in contrata casalis Antun: 24 i 1527, Not. Gr. Vassallo, NAV, R 464/3, fol. 78<sup>v</sup>; *Budac*, feudum terminatum ab uno latere cum feudo Benarrato: 24 ii 1398, RML, Univ. 206 (1647 official copy). The Arab personal names contained in most of these place-names will be recognised at once by anyone conversant with Arab affairs. For *Zara'* see: Ibn Abi *Zara'* in J. E. P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary*, pp. 17 etc. For *Budaqq* see: *Budach* Mehemet Oghli, 31 xii 1662: RML, Archives of the Order in Malta (AOM) 478, fol. 264, and Azer Osman *Budach* Oghli, 23 v 1638: *ibid.*, AOM 468, fol. 253<sup>v</sup>. It was the frequent resemblance of the names of the Muslim slaves of the Order to the medieval placenames of Malta that first turned the present writer's attention to the possibility that a much larger proportion of the placenames than has ever been hitherto admitted by local scholars must be derived from Islamic personal names current in Malta in medieval times.

16. G. Wettinger, "The Militia List of 1419–1420 . . ." for examples of each one of these surnames.
17. His work "Gozo Antico e Moderno", translated into Maltese and published by Dun G. Farrugia as *Ghawdex bil-Graġja Tiegħu*, attributes a European origin to most of the medieval surnames current in Malta and Gozo; vide Cassar, Cuschieri, Agius, Manara, Navarra, Rapa.
18. casali *Atardu*: militia list 1419–1420; *rahal attard*, contrata: 3 xii 1494, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *Rachal Tardo*, contrata: 7 x 1538, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/3, fol. 198; *rahal tardo*, contrata: 14 viii 1540, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/7, fol. 438<sup>v</sup>; the Maltese surname attard is given *Tard* by Not. P. Bonello, 1467, NAV, MS 588, fols. 7, 20<sup>v</sup>; *Tard* occurs sporadically both before and for long afterwards. *ta tride*, clausura: 6 ii 1527, Cath. Mus., Mdina, Malta, AAM/CEM/AO, vol. 8, fol. 202; Ahmet *trudi* moro del Monastero, 23 v 1570: RML, AOM 433, fol. 243; Ali ben *Terodi* de Maliga, 26 xi 1588; RML, AOM 444, fol. 261<sup>v</sup>; for the tribal names of Tunisia see below, note 38; for *Terad* bin El Ouerd Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berberes*, tr. by de Slane (1925–1934), II, 40.
19. *talcubbe*, lencia in contrata Mirechil: 13 iii 1503, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/1, fol. 233<sup>v</sup>; *thal Cobbe*, clausurae in contrata casalis Lie, 15 i 1518, Not. J. Bondin, NAV, R 69; *tal Cubi*, clausura in contrata Casalis Xiloc: 22 ii 1535, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/2, fol. 243; *ta cubbj*, lencia de terra in contrata casalis Xiluc: 28 ix 1530, Not. Gr. Vassallo, NAV, R 464/6, fol. 28.
20. *buturra*: Militia List 1419–1420; de lu *Turri*: Notary Rogerius de *Terri*, 5 vi 1418 in Not. A. Allegritto, NAV, R 16/28, fol. 825 (copy); his son, Don Andrea de *Turri*: RML, MS 1365, p. 52; *ta turra*, clausura: 23 vii 1539, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/4, fol. 534; *ta torra*, territorium: 9 xii 1539, Not. G. Cumbo, NAV, R 196/3, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>; *ta torra*, clausura in contrata Ta Tigan: 26 xi 1544, Not. G. de Guevara, NAV, R 224/3, fol. 107 of 1st pt.
21. Johanne *Giganti*, 18 iv 1487: Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *ta gigant*, clausura in contrata il guilig: 31 vii 1542, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/9, fol. 579; *tal jabbar*, duae clausurae in contrata ta nigkerid: 17 x 1514, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/6, fol. 79; *tal Jabbar*, clausura in contrata casalis Luca: 30 viii 1522, Not. C. Canchur, NAV,

- R 140/9, fol. 85<sup>v</sup>; *ta Jabbar*, clausura in contrata gued Il chineijs: 21 iv 1535, Not. Giuseppe de Guevara, NAV, MS 778/1; *Abdallah, hijo de Mohammed Gigant*: W. Hoenerbach, *Spanisch–Islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos*, 1965, p. 150–59. My attention was drawn to the latter work by my colleague Mr. J. McPartlin.
22. *lu Jardinu di lu Re*, viridarium: 22 vi 1376, RML, Univ. 206 (copy, 1647); *ginen isoltan*, contrata: 5 xii 1541, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/8, fol. *Matthaeus dello Re*, 17 xi 1518: Cath. Mus., Cath. Archives, MS Giuspadronati in Malta e Gozo, fol. 200.
  23. *gued il midine*, alias *chabil il gued*, lencia de terra: 21 vi 1539, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/4, fol. 485<sup>v</sup>; *chabil midine*, clausura: 26 i 1543, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/10, fol. 199<sup>v</sup>.
  24. *hagira seude*, contrata: 11 i 1497, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/2; *yl hagire tauile*, territorium sive animagium: 1536, Cath. Mus., Cath. Arch., Libro della Decime Decanali 1536–1538, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>; *petra nigra*, guardia: Militia post, c. 1419, Cath. Mus., Univ. Quaderni diversi, no. 4; *petra longa*, tenimentum terrarum curie regis in Insula Meliveti in contrata ditta lu gayduni prope puteum salsum: 26 iii 1373, RML, Univ. 206, fol. 280 (copy, 1647).
  25. *ta luna*, lencia di terra in contrata Rahal Seyeche: 10 iii 1525, Not. L. Agius, NAV, R 7, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>; *ta luna*, galca in contrata Turbit Garfagna: 9 iv 1535, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/2, fol. 284<sup>v</sup>; *il camar*, locu luntanu de lu casali (di sebug) circa unu miglu: 12 vi 1473, Cath. Mus., Mdina, Malta, AAM/CEM/AO, vol. 1, fol. 207<sup>v</sup>; *ta Ilcamar*, clausura in contrata Ta Bilat Ilcamar: 13 x 1540, Not. Gerolamo Cumbo, NAV, R 196/3, fol. 15 of 2nd pt.
  26. *Jacobus Magro Deif* habitator casalis Micabibe, and *Cataldus Magro Deif*: 15 i 1504, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/2, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>. *Presbiter Antonius de Spatio* witnessed a deed dated 7 v 1365: RML, Libr MS 360, p. 340 (copy). *Antonius Cipolla* alias *bisaile*: 10 ii 1542, Not. Gius. de Guevara, NAV, R 224/1, fol. 282.
  27. *ta xich*, clausura in contrata casalis Zurrice: 22 vi 1506, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/3, fol. 17; *hixich*, contrata: 21 iv 1525, Not. L. Agius, NAV, R 7, fol. 21; *ta xich*, clausura in contrata casalis Farrug: 18 iv 1536, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/11, fol. 61<sup>v</sup>; *ta xic*, clausura in contrata Gadir il Bordi: 29 iii 1538, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/3, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>; *ta cheik*, pecia terrae in contrata Megel Bachar (Gozo): 26 x 1559, Not. Thommeo Gauci, NAV, MS 867/9, fol. 36; *ta bir xich*, clausura in contrata Bir Il Chut: 24 viii 1536, Not. A. Rapa, NAV, R 414/2, fol. 163<sup>v</sup>; *gar xich*, clausura in contrata Tabrie: 4 iii 1518, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/7, fol. 167<sup>v</sup>; *gar yxich*, terrae in contrata ta xeuxe: 2 iv 1559, RML, Univ. 175, fol. 142<sup>v</sup>; *habel xih*, galca in contrata Turri di Haseuy: 23 vi 1487, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *chabel xich*, clausura in contrata casalis Zurrice: 28 i 1507, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/3, fol. 64; *chabel xech*, lencia terrae in contrata Ta Czuncul: 10 xii 1517, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/7, fol. 136<sup>v</sup>; *chabel xich*, lencia terrae in contrata casalis Bisbud: 15 iv 1527, *ibid.*, R 140/11, fol. 115; *ta martixich*, clausura in contrata Chandac: 11 x 1521, *ibid.*, R 140/9, fol. 49; *ta xihe*, duae galcae in contrata Gadir Bordi: 15 vii 1534, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/2, fol. 71<sup>v</sup>; *ta xiha*, pecia terrae in contrata Sech Targe (Gozo): 27 ii 1592, Gozo Public Library, Univ. MS 1, fol. 246; *Ilcabel dela vecza*, lencia (terrae) vitibus plantata in contrata Ilculeya: 7 v 1539, Not. Gerol. Cumbo, NAV, R 196/2, fol. 92 of 3rd pt; *ta chabel chiche*, clausura in contrata casalis Seyeche: 23 ix 1545, Not. Br. de Caxario, R 175/16, fol. 64<sup>v</sup>.
  28. *ta xerif*, galca in contrata casalis Safi: 16 i 1524, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/10, fol. 64<sup>v</sup>; *de xerif*, clausura in contrata Huhed Iseude: 26 ii 1518, Not. J. Bondin, NAV, R 69; *ta xerif*, viridarium in contrata Hued Irrum: 12 xi 1539, Not. Ger. Cumbo, NAV, R 196/3, fol. 25 of 1st pt; *ta xerif*, clausura in contrata Ilbarrani: 2 i 1544, *ibid.*, NAV, R 196/4, fol. 42<sup>v</sup> of 2nd pt; *tal xerif*, clausuncula in contrata di Rahal Bayda: 6 ix 1552, Not. A. Bartolo, NAV, R 48/1, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>; *ginen xerif*, clausura in contrata

- Mirechel: 31 viii 1543, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/11, fol. 659<sup>v</sup>; *ginen ixeref*, clausura in contrata de la Targe de lo Naxaro: 2 xii 1545, Cath. Mus., Mdina, Malta, AAM/CEM/AO, vol. "1545", fol. 74<sup>v</sup>; tal fulia sive *ginen xeref*, pecza di terreno in contrata ta Deir il Bachar: 16 iii 1610, Not. A. Allegritto, NAV, R 16/22, fol. 514; *ginen xeref*, clausura in contrata Ta Lahfar: 16 iii 1610, *ibid.*, fol. 529; *chabel xerif*, clausura in contrata casalis Bayda: 11 i 1531, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/12, fol. 177<sup>v</sup>.
29. *cahadi*, terre: c. 1426, Cath. Mus., Medina, Malta, AAM/CEM/AO, Quaderni diversi, "b", fol. 3; *talcahadi*, contrata: 27 x 1505, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/2, fol. 166<sup>v</sup>; *il cahadi*, pecia terrae in contrata Sancti Pauli de la Marina: 29 iv 1500, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/2; *rahal cadi*, clausura in contrata Bir Czebbuge: 5 xii 1514, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/6, fol. 93<sup>v</sup>.
30. *charit ilmueli*, ruga in civitate Malte: 6 xii 1454 (copy of 1 ix 1502), Cath. Mus., Mdina, Malta, AAM/CEM/AO, vol. 1500–1510; *harit il mueli*, ruga civitatis: 20 xii 1486, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *il gisie*, clausura: Not. Gr. Vassallo, NAV, R 464/3, fol. 334.
31. *tal Ghasi*, contrata: 22 vii 1651, RML, Treasury A 154, fol. 118; *ta mighid*, clausura in contrata Sancti Luce di Binhise: 4 ii 1521, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/8, fol. 161<sup>v</sup> *ta migejd*, territorium: 3 iii 1537, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/2, fol. 128<sup>v</sup>; *ta mighed*, clausuncula in contrata Gued Ilchibir: 18 ix 1540, Not. Gerol. Cumbo, NAV, R 196/3, fol. 9<sup>v</sup> of 2nd pt.
32. *ta liueli*, territorium: 16 i 1538, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/2, fol. 340; *gued hueli*, (contrata): 3 xii 1494, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *gued hueli*, contrata containing field called Tal Gonna: 28 i 1542, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/8, fol. 264; *ayn cayd*, contrata: 30 iv 1487, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; *Sqaq Qajjied* is the present-day name of a lane at Siggiewi.
33. G. Malaterra, *Roberti Viscardi Calabriae Ducis et Rogerii eius fratris Calabriae et Siciliae Ducis Principum Normannorum, et eorum fratrum rerum in Campania, Apulia, Bruttijis, Calabria, in Sicilia gestarum*, Liber IV, Caput xvi.
34. *talmigilis*, galcua at Hlantun: 6 xi 1503, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/2, fol. 19; *mita bir il migilis*, galcua in casali Antun: 6 xi 1503, *ibid.*, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>; *il chirib tal migilis*, quatuor galculae in contrata casalis Antun: 20 v 1527, *ibid.*, R 140/11, fol. 122. In all these cases a better interpretation of *migilis* might be *miglis*; *Mgieles*, however, is a present-day placename in Malta (not at Hlantun).
35. *ta turbe*, clausura in contrata Tal Marnisi: 21 ii 1519, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/8, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>; *ta turbe*, clausura in contrata Geberrini: 15 iv 1539, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/4, fol. 407; *torbe* seu Milit, contrata: 8 x 1539, Not. Ger. Cumbo, NAV, R 196/3, fol. 15 of 1st pt; *ta turbe ta cautello*, clausura: 10 x 1521, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/9, fol. 48<sup>v</sup>; *turbet garfagna*, contrata: 27 vi 1498, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/2, fol. 124<sup>v</sup>; *ta torbe ta chule*, clausura in contrata ta Chbese (Gozo): 29 iii 1574, Not. Ferd. Ciappara, NAV, R 185/1, fol. 17<sup>v</sup> of 1st pt; *turbit chakim*, contrata: 17 iv 1534, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/2, fol. 43<sup>v</sup>.
36. M. Eisenbeth, *Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord: Demographie & Onomastique*, Algiers, 1936.
37. *ta Ziri*, terrae: 16 i 1501, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/2; *ta ziri*, galca in contrata Sancti Teodori: 20 iii 1538, Not. G. Buttigieg, NAV, R 105/5, fol. 281; *gued ziri*, (contrata): 19 x 1496, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/1; sancta maria *ta ziri*, contrata in casali Musta: 20 vii 1513, Not. Gr. Vassallo, NAV, R 464/1, fol. 78<sup>v</sup>; sancta maria *ta xiri*, contrata in casali Musta: 18 iv 1537, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/2, fol. 165<sup>v</sup>; *della Sire*, Jus laicorum: 25 i 1575, Duzina's episcopal visitation, RML, MS 643, p. 551; *Char Zire*, contrata: 7 xi 1537, Not. Br. de Caxario, NAV, R 175/2, fol. 277<sup>v</sup>.
38. Tunisie, Protectorat Francais, Secretariat Général du Gouvernement Tunisien, *Nomenclature et Repartition des Tribus de Tunisie*, Chalons-sur-Saone, 1900.
39. *biar Ximbir*, contrata: Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/1, fol. 116; *biar Chimbir*, clausura

- in contrata Tal Barrani sive *Biar Chimbir*. 7 vii 1522, *ibid.*, R 140/9, fol. 103; *Rahal Cimbir*; 1436, De Mello's Rollo, 17th century copy in RML. Libr. MS 721, item 2; *cortin chimbir*, terrae: 11 viii 1585, Not. Ferdinando Ciappara, NAV, R 185/10, fol. 770; *tal chambre*, clausura in contrata casalis ta Bubachra: 19 ii 1539, Not. Juliano Muscat, NAV, R 376/1, fol. 203<sup>v</sup>; Zeina bent *Schamber* negra di Ghergie (?) schiava della signora Francesca Habela; Court Archives, Malta, Magna Curia Castellaniae, Registrum Revelorum Mancipiorum, 1588–1617.
40. *il marinisi*, territorium: 24 x 1494, Not. J. Sabara NAV, R 494/1; *tal beronisi*, contrata: 8 xi 1519, Not. C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/8, fol. 147; *il beranes*, contrata: 17 xi 1486 probably), Cath. Mus., Mdina, Malta, AAM/CEM/AO, vol. 9, fol. 1; *Biranis*, tercia pars tenimenti: 7 v 1364 (18th century copy) in RML, Libr. MS 360, pp. 337–40; *tal biranes*, contrata: 17 ix 1571, RML, Univ. 175, fol. 239; *ta parnasa*, clausura in contrata Han Ricane: 1 iv 1569, RML, Univ. 175, fol. 226; *Ill ghilechi ta parnis*, terrae in contrata dela Cala (Gozo): 21 iv 1578, Not. Ferd. Ciappara, NAV, R 185/4, fol. 483; *Ilbarnus*, terrae in contrata Hirbit Ilhamem: 21 x 1500, Not. J. Sabara, NAV, R 494/2. For the Jewish office of *parnâs*: S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, California, 1971, vol. II. On the Berber *Beranes* see: E. F. Gautier, *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* "Petite Bibliothèque Payot", pp. 221–227.
41. For the surname *Chumi* see "The Militia List . . ."; *Bir Guma* is an extant placename to the north of Naxxar in Malta.
42. *carendi*, casali: Militia List, 1419–1420; *tal kirendi*, contrata: 27 iv 1513, Not. Gr. Vassallo, NAV, R 464/1, fol. 51; *tal kirrando*, pecia terrae in contrata Ta Cabese (Gozo): 13 vii 1570, Not. Thomeo Gauci, NAV, R 287/5, fol. 333 of 2nd pt; *tal carrando*, clausura in contrata Ta Cabesa (Gozo): 17 iii 1578, Not. Ferd. Ciappara, Nav, R 185/4, fol. 424<sup>v</sup>.